

The Muses Fountain Clear :

OR, THE

Dutiful OXONIAN's Defence

OF HIS

MOTHER'S LOYALTY

To His Present Majesty

KING GEORGE.

Wherein is fully Demonstrated,

That the University of OXFORD in general, and her most noted Members, *viz.* the Bishop of ROCHESTER, the Bishop of BRISTOL, and Dr. SACHEVERELL, have, by their most Free and Sacred Acts, constantly promoted and maintain'd the REVOLUTION and PROTESTANT SUCCESSION.

L O N D O N,

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OF THE

BRITISH

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Dutiful OXONIAN's Defence of
his Mother's Loyalty to his pre-
sent Majesty King GEORGE.

OUR Two Universities influence the Principles of the Nation two ways: 1. By the Examples of their Members, who are justly esteem'd for their sound Judgment and Learning; and being for the most part Clergymen, are reasonably presumed to be as Conscientious, as they are Wise and Learned. 2. By the Concern they have in the Education of such as bear Offices in Church and State, who generally pass through one of these Nurseries, and must needs retain the Impressions, which they receiv'd there in
B their

their tender Years; and exert the same in their publick Charge and Ministry.

- 2 Now as to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, setting aside a few crazed, muddy Heads, as void of Light as the Primitive Chaos, every Academick is strictly Episcopal. And not only his Learning, but his Interest obliges him to continue so. The Dignities and Preferments of the *Hierarchy* infinitely outshine all the Rewards that are, or can be, annex to the morose Discipline of a sordid Conventicle.

- 3 By the same Reasons of Interest are we all bound to support the Monarchy. For as one of our wisest Princes affirm'd, *that if there were no Bishop, there wou'd quickly be no King*; so our own sad Experience hath taught us, that when there was no King, there was no Bishop. Our Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution are like *Hippocrates's* Twins; they laugh and cry, live and dye together. Presbyterianism is a meer Republican; utterly inconsistent with the Grandeur and Felicity of a Monarchy. I cannot in Conscience persuade any Man to travel into *Scotland*; I never heard but of one *Animalcule* that affected the Northern Road. But whoever happens to go thither, I advise him to take Notice of the Blessings of the Presbyterian Discipline: Ever since the Days of *John Knox*, *Scotland* hath felt a
Con-

Consumption of Wealth, Honour and Honesty: *Their Glory is departed.*

But *England's* two Eyes are still in her Head. Her Universities see clearly 'tis their Sovereign Interest to maintain Monarchy and Episcopacy together. And their Ancient and Modern Writings on these Subjects, are Monuments of their Zeal for the Government they live under. They know they cannot change but for the worse.

No Body doubts their Love to the Constitution it self. All the Question is, how they stand affected to the Prince who governs them. And here I have nothing more to say to our dear Brethren the *Cantabrigians*, but *Euge's* and *Matte's* for their Loyalty, which hath run as high and steddy in these latter, as in any of the former Reigns. But it hath been charged upon our *Oxford Men*, that ever since the Revolution they have not been entirely devoted to the reigning Prince; because the Revolution broke in upon two of their fundamental Maxims of Civil Government, in preaching up of which they had distinguished their Zeal, *viz. Non-resistance, and indefeasible hereditary Right.* I shall shew presently, that though these were the Grounds on which they have always been suspected and accus'd, yet they were not

the real Causes of any Disaffection in them, to the late or present Government.

- 5 I. Their Doctrine of *Non-resistance* is well known to be this; *That it is not lawful on any pretence or occasion whatever to resist the Prince (King or Queen.)* This, before the Revolution, was the Doctrine of the whole Church and State of *England*, as appears from the Homilies and Writings of the greatest Divines, as well as from positive Laws and Acts of Parliament. But then the Revolution is allow'd on all Hands to be an Exception from this Rule: And several *Oxford* Men who have maintain'd the Old Doctrine in its former Extent and strict Sense, have laid themselves and their University under the Imputation of being disaffected to that great Change, and the Settlement of the Crown consequent thereupon. Dr. *Sacheverel* was impeach'd of High Crimes and Misdemeanors by the House of Commons, and brought to a publick Tryal, for preaching up *Non-resistance* upon that very Day when this great Work was begun. The Managers against him prove that Resistance was then used: The Bishop of *Oxford* in his Speech at that Tryal affirms the same thing, and positively maintains the Lawfulness of it.

The Doctor himself endeavoured to 6 make his Doctrine and the Revolution consistent, by saying, *that what he had said of Resistance, was not applicable to the Revolution*; and in his Sermon he wou'd bring it about without any Resistance, and seems inclinable to settle it upon the *Abdication of King James*. But his Learned Advocates, who were Witnesses of that Change, knew the Means of effecting it so well, that they gave it up to the *Managers*, as a Case excepted from the general Rule of *Non-resistance*: And concluded thereupon, That though the general Doctrine of *not Resisting the Prince upon any pretence whatever* is still to be preach'd and maintain'd, yet the Exception is always implied, that *there are however some extraordinary Cases, wherein he may be resisted*. In this Determination the Doctor rested, as appear'd by his Speech which immediately follow'd.

I have mention'd this Case more particularly, because Dr. *Sacheverel* was supposed by every body to speak the highest Sense of his University upon this Point. And they testified their Approbation of what he, and his Advocates had done, by receiving them afterwards with all the Honour and Respect imaginable.

So that the *Oxonians* are fully satisfied in the Revolution, and not at all disaffected to the succeeding Government on that Account.

- 7 II. Nor are they in any more Pain for *Hereditary Right*, or the Descent of the Crown according to Proximity of Blood; though this was once their Doctrine too. For in the Year 1683, they decreed it to be *false, impious and seditious, and destructive of all Government in Church and State, to affirm, That Birth-right or Proximity of Blood gave no Title to Rule or Government; and that it was lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succession to the Crown.* They then held that Hereditary Right must necessarily take place by the Laws of God,² of Nature, and³ Nations: 'Of God, who Established it as a Rule among his own People, and by vertue of it suffer'd those who were nurst up in Idolatry to ascend the Throne without impediment, unless he set them aside himself; which he never did] but by express and clear Revelation of his Will. ²Of Nature, as best representing that Congruity and Sympathy of the Head and Members in the Natural Body of Man, to which a well-order'd Kingdom bears the nearest Resemblance. ³Of Nations, who all unanimously agree in

in this way of Succession, (except one Kingdom, very unhappy in the contrary Practice) and which hath been so strictly observ'd amongst us, that not only Infants, but even Women, who are excluded from all inferior Offices, have been admitted to the Supreme Government.

A noted Writer says, he never heard 8 that the *Oxonians* ever repented of this Decree. If he means they never burnt it, or formally repeal'd it in exprefs Words, he hath Reason for what he says. But if (as all the Reformed teach) *a Change of Life and Practice is the best Repentance*, they have most remarkably and openly repented of it; for they are long since gone into the contrary Practice.

This Change was not wrought in them by Artifice, Surprize, or Compulsion, but they proceeded to it very freely and gradually, and with a deliberate view of both Sides of the Question.

For as soon as the Revolution was 9 accomplished, the space of six Months was granted Men for taking the Oaths, and qualifying themselves for holding the Preferments they enjoy'd. During which time the *Oxonians* yielded such an easie and general Compliance, that at the half Year's end, it was hard to find a Non-Juror among them.

Now

Now it must be remember'd, that there was scarce any one of this Set of Men, who had not taken the usual Oaths to King *James*. Nay several of them were so much older than the *Restoration*, as to be fully acquainted with those Times, and had seen the Difficulties which attended Changes of Government. And yet I never heard that they remonstrated against this, but quietly came into it; and presently address'd the new King and Queen, Pray'd for them in their Churches and Chappels, sent Representatives to the Parliaments summon'd by them, gave Thanks for their Victories over the Friends of the excluded King, and acknowledged the Government by all Acts of Obedience and Submission usual in former Reigns: Which shew'd they were satisfi'd with it.

10 In the Infancy of this New Government, both the Old King's Daughters being then Childless, a Motion was made in Parliament to entail the Crown (in default of their Issue) upon the now reigning Family. But before they came to any Resolution, the *Princess of Denmark* was deliver'd of a Son; which for the present put an end to that Motion. But he dying in that Reign, the same Proposal was revived, and the Crown settled accordingly.

Now

Now was the time for the *Oxonians* to remember their Decree, and shew their Affection to Hereditary Right. For they knew very well that his present Majesty, did not claim by immediate Proximity of Blood, but by the Act of Settlement. They had time enough from the first mention of it, to consult about it, and draw up what they had to offer against it; but instead of that, they helped to promote it by the Votes of their Representatives, and thereby farther justified and confirm'd the Revolution.

Surely Men of their Penetration could II never think that Matters must necessarily rest here. They must see 'twas possible that some body or other might attempt to break through the Settlement with an Hereditary Claim; in which case they could not hope to stand by as Neuters; but wou'd be obliged by their Places and Functions, to pray and protest against him, and treat him as a Rebel to their lawful King and his Realms. They did undoubtedly foresee this; and look'd on it without starting aside out of the way they were in. And therefore what I asserted before, follows now by a necessary Consequence; They are not disaffected to the present Government on the score of Hereditary Right.

- 12 An Experiment of this hath already been made ; for when at the Death of King *James*, the Hereditary Claim was still continued in Opposition to the Parliamentary Establishment, they declared their Abhorrence of the first, and unalterable Adherence to the last. And to Seal all their former Recognitions of the said Establishment in the most Sacred manner, they took the Abjuration Oath, by which they effectually sent Hereditary Right into Everlasting Banishment. For hereby they declare, *that they willingly and heartily Swear to Defend the Succession of the Crown as settled by the Act of Limitation, against all Persons whatsoever.* Which certainly they never wou'd have Sworn, had they believ'd in their Conscience, what they professed formerly, that the Hereditary Claim carry'd any thing of Divine or Moral Right along with it, which must render it inviolable, and by consequence make it not only dishonourable, but impious to defeat it.
- 13 It wou'd be the hardest thing in the World to affirm, or but suggest of this Venerable and Learned Body of Men, that they took this Oath, and by their Examples encouraged others to take it, against what is Right and Just. If they had

had any uneasie Thoughts about it, they had the Example of their Predecessors, how to discharge themselves of it. For when the Solemn League and Covenant was imposed upon the *Oxonians* in 1647, by the then prevailing Powers, they met in Convocation to consider of it; and when they found they could not take it with a Safe Conscience, they drew up the Reasons of their Refusal, and made them publick. And this they did at a time when the Parliament's Garrison and Visitors were among them. 'Tis true, their Refusal ended in their Expulsion and Banishment from the University. But that was what might be expected from such Powers.

Far be it from us to entertain such a thought of the Present Establishment. It is a Glorious Privilege we gain by the Revolution, that we are assured of Ease and Indulgence in matters of pure Conscience. And what can be more matter of Conscience than a Solemn Tremendous Oath? This is infinitely more weighty, than all the little Wranglings and Scruples of Dissenters. And therefore if the *Oxonians*, finding their Consciences perplext about this Oath, had met in their Convocation, and drawn up an Humble Petition to Her late Majesty (in the beginning of whose Reign it was first offer'd to them)

That the great *Averseness* they found in themselves to take it, proceeded not from any want of *Duty or Affection to Her Majesty*, but purely from such Motives of Conscience as they might have specified; can we imagine that such a Petition wou'd not have been receiv'd and consider'd with Tenderness? The harsh Proceedings of King *James* upon the like Occasion, was one of the greatest Errors of his Reign, and wou'd never have been copied by his Successors. And therefore there can be no other Reason assign'd, why the *Oxonians* shou'd not use their Christian Liberty, in a time of so much Freedom and Security to Conscience, to discover what Objections they had to the Abjuration Oath, but that they had none to discover, they were perfectly satisfied and easie about it.

- 14 I believe no Body has any other Opinion of the *Oxonians*, but that they were sincerely Affected to the Queen, especially in the latter Part of Her Reign; and that their Hearts went along with their Addresses, which ran in as high Professions of Loyalty, and Recognitions of Right, as cou'd, without Flattery, be presented to any Sovereign. And if they are not as Zealous for King *George*, it is not upon the Account of his Title, which,

which, by the Confession of all Parties, is as strong and good as ever the Queen's was.

Nay, I dare be bold to say, they once 15
intended to recommend themselves to the present King, with some higher Degree of Complaisance and Devotion, if that was possible. I my self can bear them a Testimony, with what Transports of Joy they proclaimed him. I was almost afraid they had too soon forgot their Old Mistress; and had some Pain for the Gray-headed and Honourable, lest they shou'd appear too Juvenile in their Flourishes and Acclamations.

Those who are now call'd *Jacobite-Heads*, appear'd with the foremost in their Healths and good Wishes.

I am confident I have said enough to satisfy any rational Person, that the University of *Oxford*, taken in their publick Capacity, have done as much towards Accomplishing the Ends of the Revolution, and perpetuating the Protestant Succession, as any Body of Men in the King's Dominions. For do but consider what might have been the Consequences, if they had prov'd Headstrong and Untractable at the Beginning of any of the three Reigns. If they had stood out upon their Old Principles of *Non-resistance*,
and

and *Hereditary Right*, 'tis no absurd Supposition to imagine, that one half of our Clergy (whom they may be supposed to have Educated) and perhaps a greater Number of Laity, would have kept them Company. And then the Dissenters, who justly think themselves happy under the present Administration, wou'd have found more Reason to bewail their Refractoriness, than to upbraid them, as now they do, for Prevaricating with God and Man, because they have conform'd in all things to the Revolution Government. Perhaps the Dissenters are disappointed, that something has not driven all the Churchmen out of their Places, and made it necessary for the Government to put themselves in their room. But whoever are Loosers, I am sure he is no Gainer by the Conduct of the *Oxonians*, whose Interest they are absurdly charged to espouse, and from whom some are pleas'd to denominate them *Jacobites*. I cannot think them so lost to common Sense and Modesty, as to expect any thing from him, equivalent to what they have merited from the present Establishment.

16 I have hitherto spoke of the *Oxonians* as an University, consisting of Heads, Fellows, and Chaplains of Colleges, Tutors
and

and Professors of all Sorts. These are the Men who are to season the Youth of the Nation with loyal Principles. I know they do it: And upon a careful Recollection, I cannot think of one, but what wou'd give any Security to the Government, and take any Test of Loyalty, which shou'd be enjoin'd. These things fully answer the Ends of an University to the State. I don't say that every respectful thing to the Government hath pass'd, when propos'd in Convocation. It happens there, as in all publick Assemblies, that many a good Design miscarries for the sake of him who propos'd it, or through the Caprice and Humour of several who have Votes. Neither do I pretend, that no Treasonable Words have ever been heard in our Streets: For who can vouch for the Tongues of so many Young Men in their warm Frolicks? But this ought no more to stain the Loyalty of their Governours, than a Grave Schoolmaster ought to be counted a Thief, because his Scholars will sometimes rob an Orchard. Nay we are far from being singular, if some few have betray'd a manifest Disaffection by refusing to Conform. But alas, what are these few Drones in Comparison of the active Swarms wherewith our Hives have fill'd these

these Realms, to the great Advantage of Church and State, as now Established? I will not meddle with our *Oxonian* Nobility, and our *Old Chancellor* at the Head of them, who with their Arms and Counsels supported *Great William's* Throne against the Attempts of the Exiled Family. Our Gentry of little inferior Merit, have fill'd the House of Commons and all Places Military and Civil, with *his Majesty's* most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects. As for the Chiefs of the Church Militant train'd up by us, if I shou'd reckon up all our *Kennets, Lambs* and *Brays*, I mean Clergy-men of the same Principles with these unquestionable Loyalists, when shou'd I reach the End of the Catalogue? Look down from the Arch-Bishop, through the whole Bench, and see if there be one of ours, who is not right for the Revolution and Establishment. I know the Mouth of Calumny has been open'd against one or two of them; and I'll undertake effectually to stop it.

- 17 Why shou'd not I begin with Doctor *Atterbury*, the present Bishop of *Rocheſter*? I am ſure his Advocate (if he needs one) may produce as good Evidence as any in the World, to ſet him *rectus in Curia*. He hath been a noted Preacher many

many Years, and in a Printed Volume of fourteen Sermons has taken all proper Occasions to adorn the common Cause with his choicest Flowers of Rhetorick. In his Sermon before Q. Mary, May 29, 1692. God (says he) hath lately been pleased to bestow upon us new Instances of Mercy and Goodness; answering at last the many Prayers and Fastings, by which we have besought him so long, for the Establishment of their Majesties Throne, and for the Success of their Arms against the expuls'd K. James. In another before the Commons, which he styles, *The Wisdom of Providence manifested in the Revolutions of Government*, May 29. 1701. He has this Encomium on K. William: *We have now at the head of our Troops and our Councils, a Prince who hath happily joyn'd together the Extreames of Martial and Political Virtues; and knows as well how to govern a free People by their own Laws and Customs, as to command Legions: Who, whether in the Cabinet, or in the Field, is still equally in his Sphere; and is always indifferent, therefore, either to War or Peace, any further than the one or the other shall conduce to the Good of his People, and the general Interest of Mankind.*

Again, Nov. 5, 1704, before Queen Anne. *To this Day's double Deliverance*

D

is

it is owing, that we are freed from the Fears of Papal Superstition and Bondage; that we enjoy all our Religious and Civil Liberties, &c. He concludes with a Satyr on *France*, and a Panegyrick on our own Administration. Again, at *Guild-hall*, September 28, 1706, at the Election of the Lord Mayor: God (saith he) hath bless'd the Arms of the best of Queens, taken up in Defence of **THE BEST OF CAUSES**, with unparallel'd Successes abroad. And lastly, at a State-Fast at *St. Paul's*, April 9, 1707. Our Successes have indeed been the Consequences of a just and honourable, nay necessary War. And afterwards he deplores our Ingratitude for the Blessings of the Revolution, in these Words: *No sooner was our Deliverance from the illegal Attempts of a late Reign compleated, but we forgot our Danger and our Duty.*

And then to raise himself a lasting Monument of his Loyalty, and render his Authority in these Points, of universal Service to the Revolution and Establishment, he collected his Sermons into one Volume in 1708, and dedicated them to the present Bishop of *Winchester*, demonstrating a steady Adherence to these Principles for a great many Years together, when his Learning and Judgment were not to be question'd. Whence I
cannot

cannot but pity the Infelicity of his Reputation (for in other Cases he is fortunate enough) that he shou'd be deem'd an Enemy to that *Revolution* and *Settlement*, which he has so clearly asserted to be the Gift and Care of Heaven.

Another who has labour'd under the ¹⁸ like hard Censure, but not in an equal Degree, is the good Bishop of *Bristol*, Dr. *Smalridge*. I have seen his Name, in the beginning of this Reign, in libellous Papers among the disaffected Party. But I believe he who put it there, will never be able to do his Majesty so much Service (tho' now in a Publick Employment) as the Bishop has done him. He hath a Character of great Moment and Influence over all those who know him, or have heard of him: Pray hear how piously he employs it to the Safety of his Majesty's Person and Government, in his late Charge to his Clergy.

' Let us, my Brethren, approve our
' selves true and genuine Sons of the
' Church of *England*, by a steady Adhe-
' rence to its Doctrines. Among which
' Doctrines Let us be steadfast to those
' Principles of Loyalty, by which our
' Church hath been long distinguish'd, and
' for which it hath been often reproach'd.
' Let us not espouse those Principles, let
' us not imitate those Practices of Diso-
D 2 ' bedience

' obedience and Resistance, against which
 ' we have been wont to express so just
 ' and commendable a Zeal. Let us se-
 ' riously consider how indelible a Brand
 ' of Infamy and Scandal we should bring
 ' upon our Selves, upon our Order, and
 ' upon our Church; how justly we shou'd
 ' be liable to the Imputation of the foulest
 ' Hypocrisie, and greatest Prevarications
 ' with God and Man, if after all our Pro-
 ' fessions of Loyalty, after having bound
 ' upon our Souls the Duties of Faithful-
 ' ness and Allegiance to his present Ma-
 ' jesty by solemn and repeated Oaths, we
 ' shou'd break these Bonds asunder, and
 ' cast away these Cords from us; If whilst
 ' in the daily Prayers of our Church we
 ' pretend *most heartily to beseech God with*
 ' *his Favour to behold our most gracious So-*
 ' *vereign, and to strengthen him that he*
 ' *may vanquish and overcome all his Ene-*
 ' *mies,* we our selves shou'd be found in
 ' the Number of those Enemies; if whilst
 ' at our Approaches to the Holy Altar we
 ' pray unto God, *that we, duly considering*
 ' *whose Authority our King hath, may faith-*
 ' *fully serve, honour, and humbly obey him,*
 ' *according to God's blessed Word and Ordi-*
 ' *nance,* we shou'd any way deserve, disho-
 ' nour, and disobey him, in open Defiance
 ' of God's Word and Ordinance.

' In speaking to this Head, I have
 ' purposely chose to address my self to
 ' you in the same Words, which I made
 ' use of the last Year, in a Sermon
 ' Preach'd at my Cathedral, at a pub-
 ' lick Ordination, and before a great
 ' Audience, whilst the Rebellion was at
 ' the highest. And I gladly embrace
 ' this Opportunity of returning my
 ' Thanks to you, my Reverend Brethren
 ' of this City of *Bristol*, for your ready
 ' and cheerful Compliance with the In-
 ' structions I sent you, to put your re-
 ' spective Auditories in mind of their
 ' Sworn Duty of Allegiance to the King,
 ' at that Critical Juncture, when we
 ' were alarm'd with the Report of a de-
 ' sign'd Attack upon this City, by the
 ' Favourers of the Rebellion. Where-
 ' by you gave such a Proof of your Fi-
 ' delity and Allegiance to his Majesty,
 ' as few Subjects of our Profession had
 ' an Opportunity of giving, and such a
 ' one as must satisfy all unprejudiced
 ' Persons of your sincere and hearty
 ' Affection to the present Government:
 ' In which I hope you will, notwith-
 ' standing any Discouragements you may
 ' meet with, by any ill Treatment from
 ' your Fellow-Subjects, steddily and un-
 ' alterably persevere.

These

These are the Words of that profound Casuist, Bishop *Smalridge*, in maintenance of the present Government, against all Pretenders: And 'tis impossible they shou'd be so gravely utter'd, not only by him, but by any Man who has the least Remains of Conscience, were he not at the same time convinced, that the Revolution and Alteration of the Succession consequent thereupon, are Established in Righteousness, and that no Injury is done to any Man living by that great Change.

And thus I have clear'd the Principles of these two Bishops, with Respect to our present Constitution, and prov'd them to be sincere (if they may be allow'd to be sincere in their Prayers and Preaching) and very hearty *Revolutionists*.

- 19 I can pretend to do as much for the Famous Doctor *Sacheverell*, and that from his own Speech at his foremention'd Tryal.

For there he justifies his Affection to the Queen ' by his having taken, not
' only the Oaths of Allegiance to her,
' but that of Abjuration against the Pretender. He calls God to Witness he
' had no Traiterous Intention towards
' her, but was from the bottom of his
' Soul Zealously and Affectionately Loy-
al

' al to her, of which he cou'd have
 ' produced Evidences in great abun-
 ' dance. He Glories that his College
 ' contributed much towards the late
 ' Happy Revolution; which he most
 ' Solemnly protests he had no Intention
 ' to Traduce or Condemn, nor to un-
 ' dermine the Protestant Succession as
 ' by Law Establiſhed, but exerted his
 ' best Endeavours for its Security. Ac-
 ' cordingly he earnestly beſeeches God,
 ' in Deſect of Iſſue from her Maſteſty,
to perpetuate the Succeſſion of the Crown
in the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of Hano-
ver, which he looks upon as, next to the
Divine Providence, the beſt Guard we
have againſt Popery and Arbitrary Pow-
er, the beſt Security of our Church, and
of the Conſtitution of our Government.

Now if the Doctor's Speech had (as 20
 all Wiſe Men imagin'd) the Approba-
 tion of our two Biſhops, who were
 then his Brother Doctors, both eſteem'd
 the greateſt Champions of their Univer-
 ſity, and the latter for many Years their
 applauded Moderator in Divinity; then we
 may reaſonably look on it as containing
 the Suffrages of our Univerſity for the
 Juſtice of the Revolution and Suc-
 ceſſion.

Thus our *Oxonians* having not only 21
 admitted, but highly extoll'd and ratified
 theſe

these Changes; it may be ask'd what their present Sentiments are concerning their Old Doctrines of Non Resistance and Hereditary Right.

Before I answer this, I wou'd observe, that the latter has been as fully avow'd by them as the other, as appears by their Decree. It is not indeed found so much in their Writings, because in an Hereditary Kingdom, it was lookt on as an unavoidable Consequence of the Former; if the Father died possess'd of his Kingdom, his Child that Moment is of course King or Queen; which is the ground of that Maxim in the Common Law, that *the King of England never dies*. Nay even in Cases where the Parent has been deposed, the Child, tho' a *Minor* or Infant, has been immediately invested with the Regal Dignity. Thus upon the Deposing of *Edward II*, his Son *Edward III* forthwith succeeded him, tho' but fourteen Years Old. And in *Scotland*, their last Queen *Mary*, when forced by her Rebellious Subjects to quit her Throne, yet was not obliged to resign it to any other but her Infant Son. But if we wou'd know the particular Sense of the *Oxonians* in this Point, we may learn it from their great Oracle and *quandam* Member, *Hooker*, *Eccles. Pol.* lib. 8. *In Kingdoms Hereditary Birth giveth Right unto Sovereign Dominion; and the*

the Death of the Predecessor putteth the Successor by Blood in seisin. Publick Solemnities do but serve for an open Testification of the Inheritor's Right, or belong unto the form of inducting him into Possession of that thing he hath Right unto. And he censures the Arguments to the contrary, drawn from the Inauguration of Saul, of David, of Solomon, and others, as unjust and Insolent Positions. Now to the Question, How they hold and explain these Doctrines at present. Doctor Tilly in his Sermon before the University, July 19. 1705. tells them, they are gone off from their old Principles. But I, who am no Casuist, must keep to the stronger side, my Noble Triumvirate, who still Glory in them, as their peculiar Badges of untainted Loyalty. Bishop Smalridge tells his Clergy, that our Church hath been long distinguish'd by them, and often reproach'd for them: But that they cannot be her genuine Sons, without adhering to them. Dr. Sacheverell, and all of that Side, Preach up Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance in its ancient Strictness. Our University, in their late Addresses to Queen Anne and King George, own these Doctrines in very Emphatical Terms.

Now since the University not only ap- 22
 prov'd of the Revolution by an After-
 consent, but likewise contributed to the
 bringing it about, as Dr. Sacheverell ob-
 serv'd

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serv'd before, and that to such good Purpose, that they and their *quondam* Members were undoubtedly the *causa sine qua non* of it, such considerable Instruments in it, that without their Concurrence it could never have been compleated as it now stands; It remains to consider whether their Principles suffer'd in putting their hands to a Work so contrary to them. 'Tis a nice Point, I confess, and enough to puzzle the most subtile Wits. Sir *Simon Harcourt* (in *Sacheverell's Tryal*) says, they will open to a Revolution, and close again, without taking any harm. The Bishop of *Carlisle* says much the same thing, in his Sermon before the Lords, *January 30. 1702.* *Our Foundations, 'tis to be hoped, are not shaken by the Weight of those many great and extraordinary Revolutions that have pass'd upon us. — But if we ungratefully alter our Notions of the Divine Right of Government, and throw off our Ancient and Primitive Rules of Obedience, we shall make an unworthy Return for the Mercies we have receiv'd.* But I who am perswaded these Bars will break sooner than open on such Occasions, and understanding after all there's not the least Flaw in them, am forced upon a different *Hypothesis* (which however I submit to Wiser Heads) That just at that Critical Juncture when the Nation was bringing forth the Revolution, these Principles were deposited as Pawns in

in the Hands of Mr. Calvin, and Mr. Knox, and others of theirs taken up in the room of them, which not only yielded to the Work, but very much promoted it. For Calvin Institut. lib. iv. c. 10. teaches, *That if there be now any popular Officers ordain'd to moderate the Licentiousness of Kings, such as the Lacedemonian Ephori of Old, and perhaps the three Estates, when Solemnly assembled in every Kingdom; I am so far from forbidding them to restrain the Exorbitances of their Kings, if they play the Tyrant, and trample upon the poor People, that I pronounce them Guilty of a wicked Breach of their Trust, if they connive at them in such Cases; because they basely give up the Peoples Liberties, of which they knew themselves to be Guardians, by God's own Appointment. And if so clear a Writer can want an Exposition, 'tis given by his Scholar Beza, in his 24th Epistle to the Foreigners Churches in England. If any Man, tho' lawfully invested with the Supreme Magistracy, shall either unjustly spoil or deprive his Subjects of those Rights and Privileges which he hath sworn to maintain, or otherwise oppress them by open Tyranny; in such Cases the ordinary Officers are to oppose him: For they are bound, not only by their several Offices, but by God's special Appointment, to protect the Subjects, not only against Foreign, but Domestick Tyrants.*

These Words I am sure cannot be made plainer, unless it be by those who have put them in Practice.

In like manner *Knox* was bold enough to declare even in the Presence of *Mary Queen of Scots*, That if *Princes exceed their Bounds*, and act the contrary of those thing wherein they shou'd be obey'd, there's no doubt but they may be resisted by Force and Arms. And in his History he presents us with these Maxims of Government; *That Princes for just Causes may be deposed; that if they prove Tyrants to God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Allegiance; that Proximity of Blood constitutes no Man King over Christian People, but some special and extraordinary Dispensation of Almighty God.*

23 Now I desire to stand aside, and leave the Premises to the Consideration of Men of all Interests, Parties, and Perswasions whatever. Let them compare them with the Grounds and Reasons of the Revolution, as they stand upon the Records of those Times, and then judge if they be not accommodated to this great Change, infinitely better than the Pledges left in their Room, which have no manner of fitness for this Occasion, and may be Wrack'd and Tortur'd to comply, but in vain. Our *Oxonians* may deny, if they please, that they ever embraced them; but they have embraced the Men that embraced

embraced them, and call'd it a *happy Work*, which they produced; and then, if they have taught me any Logick, they have espoused the Principles too; for *qui vult finem, vult media.*

This ought to be a warning to us, how we despise any Man or his Gifts. For here we find these high and stately Academicks reduced to the Necessity of truckling to their long-scorn'd Adversaries, whom they had a Thousand times call'd Republicans and Antimonarchists, and becoming their humble and ever-obliged Debtors for the use of those very Positions, which but five Years before they had Solemnly decreed 'to be False, Seditious, and Impious, and most of them also Heretical and Blasphemous, Infamous to Christian Religion, and destructive of all Government in Church and State: For the sake of which they prohibited the Reading of the Books wherein they were contain'd, and order'd them to be publickly burnt by their Marshal in the Court of their Schools. But perhaps their passing through the Fire refin'd them from the malignant Qualities aforesaid, and fitted them for Service.

But I do ill to run on without making ²⁴ a proper Distinction. I am sensible of it, and now correct my self. *Calvin, Beza* and *Knox*, as I have shew'd, are most admirably fitted for necessary Changes; and the

the Counter Principles comport best with an Established Government. Certainly this cannot be denied. When a Kingdom (after a violent Concussion) is once well settled, and the Rights and Privileges of the Subject secured, Non-Resistance and Hereditary Right are the best Doctrines in the World to perpetuate the Felicities of a Nation : They are such as a Wise Prince will ever Encourage, and a Loyal Clergy constantly inculcate. And therefore our *Oxonians* could not testifie their good Affections to the present Royal Family and Establishment better, than by resuming their Old Doctrines, which are the greatest Supports under Heaven, that Theology can give them, when they are fairly and honestly apply'd, as they are at this present, if we can depend upon the most Sacred Assurances that Oaths and Prayers and Protestations can give us. Dr. *Sacheverell* concludes a hearty Prayer for the most *Illustrious House of Hanover*, with saying, *he could not apprehend how the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, for which he was impeach'd, tended to weaken or undermine the Succession of the Crown in that Family, which he protested he lookt upon, under the Divine Providence, as our only Security.*

And thus I think I have been as good as my Word in the Title of this Tract. For I have prov'd both this great
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Fountain of Arts and Learning, and the Streams of it too, to be clear from the Dregs of disloyal Principles with Respect to the present Government. And the Proofs I have made use of, have been most Demonstrative, *viz.* the Oaths, Addresses, Prayers, Sermons and Speeches of the whole University, and their most eminent Members.

But I don't say we are wholly to be left 25 to our selves *Non-Resistance*, when most carefully nurst here, has been known to lose its first Syllable amongst us. We are all Islanders, subject to Change: And though we are an Inland Town, the Sea of Riots and Tumults has threaten'd sometimes to break in upon us. For the restraining of which our *Pallas* wanted more Arms than what are commonly given her in the *Oxford* Prints. The plain English of the Case is this: Our Business is to dispute; and Political Questions are as much the Subjects of our Debates, as other Topicks of Philosophy. Our Professors and Governours, as I observ'd before, always hold that Side of the Question which is most favourable to the Government: But they have a Company of smart Pupils for their Opponents, who were commonly too hard for them. Hereupon his Majesty, our Supream Moderator, was oblig'd to make the Balance betwixt these Disputants, by sending a competent Number
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ber of Respondents, who, to shew they belong'd to the Court, were habited differently from the rest of the Students, in Scarlet-colour'd Cloaths.

These Respondents know how to handle their Arguments with irresistible Force, so that one of them is a Match for half a dozen Opponents. They have no Books, and seldom think, and are commonly asleep, or in an Ale-House, or Tavern; and yet their Answers in Disputations are so quick and piercing, that the surprized Opponents cry out,

Jam jam efficaci do manus scientiæ.

So that now all our Disputes terminate on the Government's Side.

- 26 My Business is not to vouch for the Affections of all our People, but to shew that they are not disaffected upon any fundamental Point of Government. My Acquaintance I confess is not very large, but I have look'd over all the remarkable Books, Papers, and Pamphlets relating to our Government in this Reign; and I find none, except what come from profess'd *Jacobites*, who are but a handfull of Men, which offer any thing to weaken the Constitution, but on the contrary confirm it. The Pamphlet which seem'd most obnoxious, call'd *English Advice to the Freeholders*, makes it a great Merit in the Church-Party, as he styles them, ' that they were
' the

‘ the Men who made and confirm’d the
‘ Act of Settlement, who recognized the
‘ King’s Title, and proclaim’d him with
‘ all possible Marks of Duty, settled a
‘ bountiful Revenue upon him, and stu-
‘ died to please him in all things: And he is
‘ persuaded that not one Churchman of Di-
‘ stinction throughout the three Kingdoms
‘ appear’d in the least disaffected to the
‘ King, but all unanimously concurr’d in
‘ a Submission to his Government.’ Did
they so? Then pray be patient, and let
the King govern as he pleases, so long as he
exceeds not his just Prerogative. I was a-
fraid, when first I heard of this Writer, that
he was a second *Doleman*, and had ript up
the whole Foundation of the Settlement.
But the Expressions I have cited, soon con-
vinced me, that the Pain was not in his
Conscience, but only an overflowing of
Choler for some Changes in the Admini-
stration, which are unavoidable in every
Reign, and are always attended with some
Murmurings.

If the Cry of the Church's Danger, be 27
another Ground of Disaffection, 'tis far
from being peculiar to this Reign, but is
as old as that of King *James II.* when
Bishop *Atterbury* says 'twas certainly in
Danger; he means in its outward Con-
stitution, and with respect to its Tempo-
ralities; for as for true Piety and Devoti-
on, full Assemblies at Prayers and Sacra-
ments,

ments and Reverence paid to Ministers, he affirms it was in a most flourishing Condition, incomparably beyond what it was after the Revolution. See his Sermon before the Lord Mayor, *April 19, 1707.* Now some of the old Doctors wou'd have call'd it a Blessing to have the Church thus endanger'd. *David says, It is good for me, that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy Statutes. Before I was afflicted, I went wrong; but now have I kept thy Word.* And that great Example of true Christianity, *Dr. H. Hammond*, in a Letter to a Friend, says, *All kind of Prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate Pursuance of, the flourishing of a Church and Monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great Ills; and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome, as to be continued under God's Disciplines.* And when there was a Prospect of the King's Return, the good Doctor seriously considering how few would be the better for the Change, said, *As for the Church, 'twas certain, Persecution was generally, the happiest Means of propagating her; she then grew fastest when pruned most; was then of the best Complexion and most healthy, when fainting through loss of Blood.* Thus piously he (as *Bishop Fell* commemorates in his Life, *Fol. p. 28.*) who had himself experienced both States, and found the Afflicted generally the greater Blessing.

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Though Bishop *Atterbury*, where he owns the Blessing, renders Praises for our Deliverance from it. But I see no Reason to apprehend that the present Reign will afford him any new Theme for such Thankgivings. I know something of our Prayer against Temptations, and our Licence in the Gospel to fly from Persecution: But according to an old Rule, *ita fugias, ne per fenestram*. Besides, there's a Difference betwixt flying and fighting. The antient Doctors took the Courage to suffer, from contemplating the vain and transitory Enjoyments of the present State, and the Fullness and Eternity of future Happiness: But since the Perfection of Microscopes in this polite Age, the Moderns have discover'd a great many more Reasons for loving their Mother Earth, and caring for the outward Man, and the Appurtenances thereof. This latter is the more agreeable Principle to our poor Flesh and Blood. Self-Preservation, though not always consistent with Christianity, is confessedly a very ancient and very natural Principle.

But I am got quite out of the Precincts 28 of *Oxford*; to which I return. No Body can doubt but that the loss of our old Chancellor (who was very well belov'd here) gave us a Distaste to some in the Government; especially while some kind of obscure Reports lasted; which not having
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been verified hitherto, we suspend our Opinion of that Occurrence till better Information. This I am verily perswaded of, that his Majesty suffers not in any one's Opinion upon that Account.

- 29 To conclude; whoever shall hear our Chapels resound every Morning and Evening with Prayers for King *George* and his whole Family, if he have but one Grain of Charity more than our Dissenting Brethren, will conclude his Cause is very safe amongst us. And whatever Disaffection may remain in some, (which however is more than compensated by the active Zeal of others) it cannot spring from the *Jacobites* Principles of damning the Settlement, unless we can be suppos'd at the same time to damn our Souls with swearing to it contrary to a good Conscience. And for our Divisions, Murmurings, Aversions, and political Feuds, there is one infallible Cure, were it possible to be had by every one of us, *viz.* A convenient Sphere in Church or State, wherein we might gloriously display our most Loyal and truly Protestant Affections.



